551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me	nga	bũge	nana	abõ:
who	lived	to break (of the)	mother	the leg,

tsǎ̆s
tsass (onomatopoetic).

551 A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
578 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might result, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

861 The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major offenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

867 We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
861 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life, however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

867 development of a sense of honor -- in the Pangwe sense, of
861 course -- may be called one of the primary rules. The child must learn to fear being shamed as much as our boys fear the rod.

The threats for smaller children up to six or seven years old
861 are limited to simple devices for frightening them known by the
534 name kŏkŏ'-bŏ'ngo III (Jaunde) or bĭm a sī́ze bŏ'ngo (southern Pangwe) "things to scare children." The procedure is as follows. In the evening or at night a relative makes some kind of noise in front of the house. The child that is naughty or crying is then warned of the bad man outside. The simplest implement for making a noise is a small tree trunk that is placed on the floor and then alternately and rhythmically stamped and beaten with a mallet. In addition, the person may murmur in a deep voice: "kŏkŏ' nie a ŭ̌zū nie (the bad man (kŏkŏ'), he has come)." The implement itself is called -- onomatopoetically -- kăkăkū́mo III (kă kă = the beating of the mallet, kū́m = the stamping of the stick on the ground, and at the same time, ekū́m = tree stump, upright piece of trunk). An even more effective means of scaring children is the uncanny sound of the wooden whizzer (edzĭbŏ'ngo, "child eater," Fig. 86), often used by men and older boys to frighten the younger ones. Aside from contrivances for making noise, there are /288/ various other means of frightening them, such as the belŏnezŏ'k or wandering elephant, which, however, I cannot describe in greater detail at this point.

A much more important means of education is oral instruc-
861 tion and teaching, imparted in ample measure to the little fellow
867 by both father and mother. The mother tells stories /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ of which a number, like the story of the Edschibongo (child eater), are designed to keep the child in fear and at the same time to teach. In the next section I shall devote some attention to these stories; at this point I want to discuss in greater detail the purely educational precepts that are for the most part imparted by the father. These precepts or, as we might say, principles are called malĕbega. They are affirmed daily on every suitable occasion and constantly repeated, so that they become firmly implanted in a boy's head. A number of such principles, which unfold before our mind's eye an unfalsified image

2: Tessmann--157 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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[534]

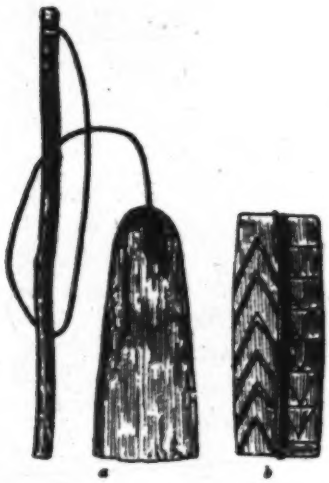

Fig. 86. Whizzers.
(a) With stick; (b) without stick, a string being slung around the wood.

861 of the natives' family life and reveal to us the view of the Pangwe
867 with respect to what he calls morality and order, will be reproduced here in the actual order in which the boys told them to me.

My father told me:

1. When I go on a journey, look after the chickens, dogs, and women for me, so that everything will be in good order when I return; then my heart will rejoice.

2. You should not tell others all the things that were confided to you, otherwise the man who has said them to you will be angry.

3. You shall listen to your father's words, because when you later marry a girl, your father will pay for her.

4. When I have visitors in my house and tell you to bring firewood, do it quickly; when I tell you to bring food for the guests, do it, or else your father will say of you, "You are like a chicken, a goat, or a dog -- I did not beget you!"

5. When you go to wrestle, you should muster your strength so that you will be the victor, for if others throw you, I shall be sad and will have to be ashamed.

6. If you have a sweetheart and she brings you food (Author's note: When the young man visits her), you must not eat up

866 867 everything right away, but /289/ modestly take two or three spoonfuls, for otherwise the girl will think that you are a real pig, and she will no longer love you.

7. If your father has many wives, industriously help him to clear large areas of the forest and prepare them for planting. Afterwards, the wives will then be able to plant a lot of food (bedzi). When my fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law (!) come for a visit, they must have ample food to eat. If they go to bed hungry, they will have a poor idea of our village and call it a miserable nest.

8. When strangers (guests) come and do not find me at home, entertain them just as if I were there and be in every way helpful; otherwise they will say that you have no breeding (plural, o seke mɔ̌ɨ = you are no person = man).

9. If you are able to forge and if one of my brothers (that is, members of the kin group) comes and wants to have something made, make everything for him just as he desires it, and if a man from another family comes, do likewise, because you can never tell whether some day you might not marry a girl from that particular family. If you have done as I have advised you and you desire the daughter of the man or of one of his kin group for a wife, he will immediately and gladly have you since you have done him a good turn.

10. If you have seduced the wife of another man and the husband comes into my village and brings with him the medicine over which you must step (as a proof of truthfulness, see legal concepts), you will die. My son, this is a very bad matter! Remember that! It is better to admit the affair right away; I myself shall pay for you, that is nothing to you! I am not saying that you should seduce the wives of others, and so forth.

11. You must not be greedy for food (plural, akūɨ = avaricious with respect to food). If you are, everybody will laugh at you, and if you go to another place, you yourself will not get anything to eat.

12. If I have many daughters, you must learn to make their coiffures (ornamental coiffures), so that the girls will not go elsewhere to find a man who dresses hair, because girls as a rule do not like to go great distances.

13. Treat your (real) sister well! If she scolds you, leave her alone (that is, do not scold her in return); it is nothing to you! Do not beat her, either, because, after all, for the money that is paid for the marriage of your sister, you will in turn buy a wife for yourself. If you beat your sister, she may possibly die through sorcery (this means that in her anger over the maltreatment she might take her life, something which does indeed happen), and you will have no money and no wife, and people will not respect you, and so forth. /290/

14. If you are the older of two brothers and you are married and have a daughter, then do not marry another woman with the marriage portion that you get for the daughter; instead, leave the daughter (or the money) to your younger brother. If, as the eldest, you have acted in such a way, you will enjoy the same honor and respect among your brothers as your father does.

15. Your father tells you all these good /Fig. 87 appears here in the original text/ principles and bits of advice not in order to make you, his son, bad (that is, through lack of trust or lack of respect for him), nor does he do so in order to limit your freedom, but because he desires that you will not bring any unpleasantness (quarrels) into the house, which will harm him and you. For when I have paid two or three times, I will be tired of (disgusted with) these things, and it may not be long before I have no wife left in the village (that is, he would be a poor man, because wives mean money, and he would have spent all his money for the fines of his son).

The attentive reader, in looking through the earlier sections of this book, will not have failed to note the strict patriarchal tendency of the Pangwe. It is clear, therefore, that the father supervises the education of the child and especially of the adolescent boy. He does this in an ideal manner -- even among us it would be regarded as ideal -- by becoming his son's best friend and by supporting and advising him in all the important problems of life.

Of course, the mother is dear to the Negroes and cherished by them as she is everywhere else in the world, but natural respect and shame in her presence prohibit the son from telling her

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Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 593 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 593 578 626 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a special degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 163]

861 593 578 626 rebellious son back to gentler modes of behavior, namely, the public curse. The curse (ebúñ[o]; verb, a búño) may be pronounced by the father or the mother upon the son, as well as by the eldest son as the father's representative, especially after the father's death, upon a younger brother. In the majority of cases, however, it is the father who pronounces the curse upon his son. The cause for such a pronouncement is continual disobedience, for instance, if the son, despite repeated warnings, takes advantage of the father's wives. The father then stands in the middle of the village square in order to be heard by the people, usually in the morning when they are all at home, or he summons them all to the meeting house and speaks to them somewhat as follows: "This person, my son, continually acts counter to my commands, etc.; therefore from this time on he shall be successful in nothing, he shall acquire no more things (through purchase and trade of gifts), he shall have no success in hunting; when he goes to a girl she shall 'look upon him as dirt' and grant him no love. For he shall be cursed." A definite formula is not prescribed in most regions; only in the north of the Pangwe region they say: "ma yǒk(e) oa" (Jaunde), that is, "I curse you." /292/

In most cases, the curse actually is followed by the consequences threatened by the father, at least insofar as they concern the son's social position. News of the curse spreads everywhere, and nobody wants to have anything more to do with the cursed one; wherever he goes he is looked at askance or even heaped with abuse and ridicule. In his father's village he will be completely unacceptable. As a result, the son is soon tired of this unbearable state of affairs and now tries to induce his father to remove the curse. He requests him through friends or relatives to remove the curse from him, or he approaches his father through his mother, but then by way of her brother, since "she is afraid of her husband."

If, in response to these requests and the son's promise that he will improve, the father is prepared to nullify the curse, the son must first of all -- if he is an adult -- pay him a goat or -- if he is not an adult -- a chicken. Contrary to the usual custom of adding every piece of livestock to the marriage portion for more wives, the animal paid as compensation by the son is consumed by

861 593 626 578 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma	tɛ̄'i	matɛ'i[1]	ma	kăbe	ma,
[539] I have	imposed	curse (1) (?),	I	disengage	myself (from

1. matɛ̄'i = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̄'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̄'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otitɛ̄i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma	nīme	ma, --	osūɛ
it), I	make	straight myself -- (into the)	water

nkīā,i;	Chorus:	mān.
down.	Chorus:	Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

[201] At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indicate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde -- [824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

579 595 Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongô, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop playing together.

Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks: little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 854 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and [582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose [871] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with [574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 304 864 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were